powerful formula of exorcism against the angered household deity. 755
Now he held the mirror in such a way towards the magical writing on 783
the piece of paper that its mirrored image became visible, and then he again poured hallowed water over the mirror so that the power of the formula might be transferred to the water. The mother had to catch the water that flowed down in a bowl. Of this water saturated with magical powers, a few spoonfuls were forced into the violently resisting child who spat them out again with all signs of disgust. /29/ The mother looked anxiously at the lama. Could the magic, then, work in this way? But the lama consoled her and said: "The power of this magical water is so great that the few drops which the child has swallowed will still have their effect." Furthermore the mother now had to finish the rest of the "wonder drink"; since she was the one who nursed the child, it would in this way benefit from the full power of the drink. So said the lama and assured her that by this double "baptism" (Tibetan: ak'rus, pronounced trus) the child was purified and the P'alha exorcized. He would not bother the child any more for the time being. True, it was a full fourteen days before the child gradually started recovering. But to most in the house it was certain that the recovery had been the effect of the "baptism" of the lama.

Little Drogpa Namgyal grew up to be a robust boy and soon 000
there was, in the circle of his playmates, no stronger, more skillful or livelier boy than he. As a son of the respected Dragshos and because of his superiority in all their boys' games he was well liked and respected by his companions. They even endured his occasionally domineering behavior, mostly without contradiction, because on the other hand he showed himself as a good friend who was always ready to help.

/30/ EDUCATION FOR A HIGHLAND FARMER AND HERDER

Drogpa Namgyal Becomes Acquainted
with All Kinds of Animals and with Sinister Powers.

When he was only three to four years of age Drogpa Namgyal 868
already accompanied his father and his mother to the fields and there began, without his being conscious of it, the school in which the person takes in a mass of observations, discoveries, impressions and opinions even without the compulsory attendance or discipline of a formal school, and without a book or writing implement. These

[868] observations and impressions are assimilated by the person and are 241 made to become fruitful in his own, independent actions. Drogpa Namgyal saw in the fields how his father coupled two dso (oxen, a cross between yak, oxen, and an ordinary cow) to a very primitive hook-plow. He saw how his father then plowed the stony field on which another man, who had been hired to help with the tilling of the field, had previously scattered the seed (wheat or barley). The seed was then plowed under. He saw how then his mother with the help of two women watered the field with the love and care with which one ordinarily treats a garden.

241 On the uneven floor of the valley, which in parts rises steeply, 312 and on the slopes of the mountains the fields have been laid out with great skill in terraces, in order to even out inclines that are too steep. The watering of the fields attracted Drogpa Namgyal's special attention and aroused him to help with it. Only gradually did he find his way in the intricately ramified net of watering trenches which was spread over the entire bottom of the valley and even up to the foot of the slopes. These small trenches (yur-ba) are all fed from one main trench which receives the water of the brook high above in the side-valley. The brook brings this water from the distant snow field way up in the mountains. With the greatest of skill and with the simplest [412] of tools--spades, pointed hoe and crow-bar /31/--the Tibetans have [77] been setting up these water trenches for centuries. They probably learned this skill from the immigrant Aryans (compare note 12). The watering ditch is either dug into the available plot of ground wherever this is possible, or else an artificial channel is created from stones and sod, which is scantily sealed off by means of loamy soil. In this manner the channel is often built from four to five kilometers and more along barren, steep cliff faces. Here they often have to be propped up by walls and buttresses which are most laboriously built into the rock, whenever the precipitous side of the mountain offers no base of support. In the bottom of the valley the main trench then branches out into a large number of small ditches so that every, and even the most distant, piece of field can be irrigated

The mother, armed with a wooden shovel, conducted the water from one field terrace to the next until all were thoroughly irrigated so that the water stood on the plowed ground for a while and had time to penetrate into the soil parched by the singeing sun. Lobsang Wanggyal with his large holdings of land was allowed to use the water of the channel for a whole day; after him there came on

241 out in the open and is always set up at the foot of a mountain slope at a place exposed to the wind. Its floor consists of loam that has been stamped down or else it is covered with large sheets of slate. Admidst singing, loud shouting, and blows the four-legged threshers are driven continually in a circle around the post until the grain has been trodden out by their hoofs--not in the cleanest of ways, to be sure. Then the grain is winnowed during a moderate wind, upon which occasion everybody joins in singing a not unlovely, monotonous song (las-gso, which means "incitement to work"), which is also to be heard accompanying most common labors which require bodily strain. Once the grain has
[415] been cleaned by winnowing, firm sacks woven from goat or yak hairs are filled with it, and it is carried into the house. Here it is poured into the large containers constructed of slabs of slate. After the last sack has been poured out, the master of the house presses a large seal in loam with a signet carved out of wood onto the joint between the wood cover and the edge of the container. The Buddhistic hooked
[789] cross (swastika) on the seal is supposed to guard the valuable crop from the hand of thieves through its magical power, and it actually does guard it because the thief is afraid of its magic. /There follow, after p. 32, two full-page illustrations, the first with the subtitle, "Tibetan children"; the second with "Inhabitants of Ladakh."/ /33/ The granary is in the lowest story of the house, just underneath the household temple.

868 In this way the boy, through his sharp powers of observation, became acquainted with all the activities which are connected with the cultivation of the soil in those inhospitable mountains, and gradually he gained an insight into the heavy battle which the Tibetan farmer must wage with the forces of nature. In his imagination these forces of nature turn into animated beings, spirits, gods, demons, and goblins. The boy also heard from the narratives of his parents and neighbors how man so often succumbed in this battle because, as they said, the dreadful powers were unconquerable for the ordinary human being. But the lively lad also learned early to join in the work, and with great zeal he took part in the labors in which his strength permitted him to participate, until finally he was able to perform all types of work and became an efficient Tibetan farmer.

372 Drogpa Namgyal was even more eager to climb with his father or with a relative into the mountains to gather "wood" than he was to go into the fields. At least they called it a wood, although it was
000 often no more than small shrubs which served as fuel. It was extremely

which have by now mostly become mute and with which they did not know what to do. Hand in hand with the reading went the writing. They wrote on small wooden tablets covered with black lacquer with wide reed pens and white, sticky clay. In the course of three winters Dondrub had brought his pupils to the point that they were able to read and write simple things fairly fluently in the printed and in the written script. Aside from reading and writing, the lama also taught the boys a little arithmetic, but in so doing he did not go beyond the numerical cycle of 100; his own knowledge did not extend beyond that. The rosary with its 108 beads had to serve in this--as it also does otherwise in monetary transactions between Tibetans--as a counting machine. 876 [802]

Lama Dondrub did not plague either himself or his students with any other branches of knowledge. Old Konchog Trashi told them the old legends and fairytales /51/; from him the boys also heard how the ancient, once mighty West Tibetan Kingdom of Ladakh came to an end when the Dogras from northwestern India (Jammu) invaded the country and vanquished the poorly armed and poorly led but valiant men of Ladakh after a six-year battle, deposed the king, and assumed rule. Now they also understood why in the capital of Leh there dominated and ruled a Wasir who did not belong to their people but who was an Indian; they understood why their district was administered by an Indian district official and judge and why in the fortresses in Leh, in Kalatse, and in Kargil there were Indian soldiers stationed who were sent now here and now there in order to maintain peace and order and to remind recalcitrant taxpayers and forced laborers of their duty by forcible means. 631

Not overburdened with book learning Namgyal thus entered life. The little he had learned nevertheless elevated him above the majority of his compatriots who had not attended school and who mostly had no desire to do so. "We are stupid as oxen," neighbor Sherab used to say, despite his proud name which means "wisdom." "Our fathers were unable to read or write, why should we bother with it? We have more important things to do with our fields and with our cattle. A farmer has no time to acquire book learning; that is a matter for the lamas." 871

Even if Namgyal's book learning did not go very far, he nevertheless developed into an industrious Tibetan farmer under the tutelage and instigation of his father and of his uncle Stobsldan, a brother of his father's. He soon knew how to handle horses, donkeys, cows, sheep and goats; he knew how to lead the plow skillfully through the stony field and how to water the field and the garden properly; he was able to 868

spin thread on the hand spindle from coarse goat's or yak's hair, from which the village weaver then wove strong blankets and sacks. He sat firmly in the saddle and was a good polo player (26). Soon Namgyal

[526] 26. In the mountains of the Himalayas a riding game, polo, has been preserved. It originated with the ancient Persians and was subsequently introduced into their courts by the Byzantine emperors. For a long time the game appeared to be forgotten until the Mogul emperors of India again discovered it among certain mountain peoples and introduced it anew into their courts. This ball game on horseback makes tremendous demands upon the agility and adroitness of the rider as well as upon the speed and suppleness of the horse.

was superior to his elders in matter of practical common sense and caution, in industry and in courage, the latter probably an inheritance from his fathers, some of whom had proved themselves valiant heroes in the wars against the neighboring Baltis and the Dogras, an /52/ inheritance probably, also, from his energetic grandmother Tsering Purid.

At the same time Namgyal had a strong tendency towards the religious, a tendency which, however, always remained unsatisfied. He often pondered over religious questions and brooded about the meaning of existence, the nature of the karma, the transmigration of souls, about the "eight-fold path" of release which Buddha had shown to his disciples, about the salvation activities of the Buddhistic "saviors"; but he also thought about the order of the monks and about the priests and their doings. But as often as he asked his teacher, the Lama Dondrub, and as often as he asked an explanation of deeper questions, the latter would put him off with a few superficial observations saying that he could not understand these matters yet; so that the young man's questions and the desires of his heart remained unsatisfied. The behavior and conduct of the greedy, sensual lama who was also given to drinking, was of such a kind that the belief of the young Namgyal in these members of the "Sacred Community of Monks, " to whom he was supposed to look up with reverence and awe as a pious Buddhist, became severely shaken. And his longing for peace and freedom remained unstilled. Even the well-intentioned instructions of the pious hermit Tsetan were unable to satisfy him.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

mountain side and imitating the lama's ritual, or pretending to be kings and wazirs, with wars and fighting. The little girls—true daughters of Eve—interlace iris leaves to imitate *perags*, and exercise their housewifely instincts by making little houses and kitchens of stones and earth, and arranging quite nice little models of the family stove on which the most delicious *drons* are cooked, for, "lets' pretend" is a more potent spell than ever in this land "the wrong way round."

But soon work begins to be mixed with their play. Little people early become expert with the bellows and can keep the fire going, while mother attends to the contents of the cooking pots, for to make bright flames is always fascinating. Quite small children can take out the sheep and goats, and even the cows, keeping them in sight on the damp turf near spring and stream, where there are all sorts of games to be played, stone throwing, bridge-building, dam-making to irrigate minute fields, and all the wide-world mud delights of children. In the autumn fuel must be collected for the cold, hard days of winter, and the boys and girls, slipping their old sheepskins on their backs to keep the baskets from wearing out their clothes, go off to the hills to follow up the tracks of donkeys, ponies, zos and yaks, picking up the manure and flinging it over their shoulders into their baskets, varying their work with laughter and fun, and many a game. Back for breakfast, then off again till midday, and then another basketful in the evening, till a goodly pile of dung is drying on the sunny roof. As the leaves fall, they too must be swept up with rough little brushes of straw tied together; basketfuls of these are taken home and used to roast the barley before it is milled. Still better are the long days of spring and early summer, when boys and girls go off to the neighbouring hills and valleys to collect *burtsa* and other roots. for fuel, or to mind the sheep and goats while they wander about in search of fodder. These long days in the mountains

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

868 are real picnics, for *zan* and cooking-pots and wooden cups are all taken, also a little bit of food ready prepared in the pocket to eat when away up the hillside, where many a tale is told, and many a song is sung, echoing across the valley from one [872] rocky perch to another. So the happy days of childhood pass, and in this land of primitive needs it is indeed difficult to get the children together for school. In the winter they get up so late, for fuel is scarce, dung has to be collected, and wood is so expensive, and bed is the warmest place till between 9 and 10 a.m. Summer is still worse, especially for the girls, as they must be off to the hills with the sheep and goats, so cannot be spared, and when they reach their teens plans for marriage are laid.

802 But why learn arithmetic when nature provides such a convenient counting-board as the knuckles. With the thumb as pointer, each finger has three joints, a total of thirty on which 805 calculations can be made. Why measure time in years, when a contract may be worded as poetically and conclusively as follows :—" the bond to last till the crows turn white, and 465 the glaciers melt." Where payment is made in kind, wages 565 need not be calculated; thus your fields can be worked by giving 782 the labourer part of the products. Only the gods must not 614 be forgotten, for the first few handfuls of corn plucked must 776 be tied to the pillars of the best room, and dedicated to the god of the brotherhood to which any given family belongs. For each family is linked up in such a brotherhood, the members of which are called *pa-spun* (man-brethren). These are originally relations, though outsiders may be sworn-in at a special feast, and all worship at a common altar, presided over by their special deity. This custom is said to be a remnant of the ancient worship before Buddhism came to the country, the gods sometimes having Hindu names. The 778 altar is originally built as a platform of mud and stone, and 782 on it is placed a clay pot, round which a wall is built. Into 792 the pot are placed small offerings, such as grain, coral, pearl,

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

imposed himself. He did not do so with any severity, however, as parents are usually "afraid of their children", fearing that if they are too strict, they will not be well treated by them later, when they themselves have to go into the *k'hang-gu*.

I enquired who it was who gave the children their sex education. The answer was that nobody did. Parents are forbidden by custom to speak to them of such things, and they have to pick up what they can learn from playmates. Another source of information was watching animals, it seemed, and everyone agreed that they *may* learn something from witnessing their parents' behaviour during the long winter nights in the *Jan-sa*. Anyhow, they "somehow" knew about sex by the time they were approximately six years of age.

Sexual games between children, as well as masturbation, were very severely punished if discovered by the parents. The father would beat a child caught playing with itself or attempting coitus with another child. Mothers, it seemed, did not beat, but pinched instead, and this could be made very unpleasant for the victim. It was impressed upon me that if a child was a favourite, it might be dealt with more leniently, and that no attempt to deal out punishment equally was made.

In very small children, masturbation was repressed by attempts to frighten the child. It would be told by its mother that a sort of witch called a *baghzi* (a Hindu name?) would come and either carry the child away, or cut off its ears and put them in a leather bag which the creature carried expressly for the purpose of collecting the ears of bad children. No threat was ever made that the genital organs of the child would be cut off, and the idea that this might be said seemed utterly fantastic to my informants. As a sign of the times, I heard that children were also threatened with being carried off by Tungan robbers (these were Chinese Moslems from Sinkiang who, in 1938, had just been chased out of Turkestan by Soviet troops, and had escaped Southwards, over the Karakorum pass; they stayed in Leh for some time before being repatriated by sea to China by the Government of India).

When children were between six and seven years old, their formal education began. They were taught to read and write Tibetan by qualified teachers, usually lamas, for about one year. Most of the teaching consisted in getting the pupil to learn long texts by heart and reciting them, in the very early morning. Corporal punishment was administered if the lesson was not learned properly. When the year was up, more practical things were taught, such as agriculture and the traditional ways in which crops are grown in Ladak. Pastoral duties were also inculcated into future herdsmen at this time, while others learned a trade.